A

CHAIN

OF

FACTS

In the REIGN of

King *James* the Second,

WITH

A particular Account of his Deſign (in Conjunction with *Lewis* the XIVth of *France*) to eſtabliſh a POPISH Succeſſor to the Throne of ENGLAND.

BEING

An exact Narrative of every Tranſaction preparatory to and at that labour'd Event, the Birth of a pretended Prince of *Wales*, in the year 1688.

Humbly offer'd to the Conſideration of all TRUE ENGLISHMEN.

By R. WILKINS.

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PREFACE

TO THE

READER.

THE cruel Progreſs that the ſworn Enemies to all Proteſtant States have lately made, in ſubduing the ſtrong Frontier Towns of our near Neighbours and natural Allies; and the continued Menaces of another Attempt to ſupport the Papiſts and Jacobites favourite Adventurer, have encouraged thoſe deluded and bigotted People, to expreſs their Pleaſure in their Neighbours Misfortunes, in a Manner that but too plainly proves their Readineſs to graſp at every Opportunity to foment the Spirit of Diſaffection in thoſe whom they can prevail upon to adhere in any Degree to their never to be parted with Notions of indefeaſeable Hereditary Right, of which they pretend to make a Point of Conſcience, and for that Reaſon are ſo unwarrantly bold, in declaring for the Perſon to whom they pay Allegiance, affirming, and attempting to prove, their Aſſertions from the Laws and Records of this Kingdom, and by that Means, ſeduce too many to their Faith, and, conſequently, incline them to Practices ſuitable to ſuch an Opinion.—For this melancholy Reaſon, I have endeavoured, in the following Abſtract, to ſet forth the whole

whole Scheme of their Politics in that Affair, from firſt to laſt, that every unprejudiced Perſon may ſee, and examine into the Bottom of the Impoſture, upon which they build their preſent Hopes; and I flatter myſelf, I have done it in ſuch a Manner, as may convince any candid Perſon, that I have laid open the whole Truth, without Fraud, or Diſguiſe: The doing of this has obliged me to mention ſome Circumſtances, that could not be avoided in an Affair of that Nature, and for which I hope I ſhall be excuſed, from the Neceſſity of doing it, to evince what I advance in Proof of a Negative.

I therefore freely ſubmit it to the Examination of the ingenuous Reader, till ſome abler Hand ſhall do it better, and moſt ſincerely wiſh it may have that good Effect, which it is the Intereſt of every good Subject to hope for, as well as

The AUTHOR.

TO

To the Right Honourable

Lord Viſcount *Coke*.

My Lord,

IT is with the utmoſt Pleaſure and Gratitude I take the Liberty to acknowledge in this publick Manner, the kind Notice your Lordſhip was pleas'd to take of the following well meant Abſtract, the firſt Time it was publiſhed, which I attribute to your Lordſhip's particular Turn of Generoſity and Candour, imagining myſelf an Author of too low a Claſs to have deſerved it, had the Subject been of a different Nature, or convey'd by a leſs friendly Hand, than that which on my Behalf preſented it to your Lordſhip.

My Inabilty to wait upon the other noble Perſons, to whom I preſented a Copy at the ſame Time your Lordſhip accepted one, was the Reaſon I could only know your Lordſhip's Sentiments, and your Lordſhip was pleas'd to give me Reaſon to think

think I had done my Duty, by endeavouring to remove fatal and mischievous Prejudices, at that Time, when every honeſt *Engliſhman* dreaded the Effects of it: And I muſt with Pleaſure acknowledge, how particularly I was oblig'd to your Lordſhip on that Account.

As there remains ſtill but too much Occaſion, I offer it with all Humility once more to the Publick, and ſhall think myſelf well paid, in having the Opportunity by this Conveyance, of thanking your Lordſhip, and ſhowing how much I am,

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

Your Lordſhip's
moſt Obliged,
and moſt Obedient
Servant,

ROBERT WILKINS.

A

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FACTS, &c.

AS too many of the good Subjects of *England* are under great Apprehenſions of an Invaſion in behalf of a Popiſh Pretender, and theſe Fears are increaſed by the late Succeſſes of *France*, whoſe Agents, in Diſguiſe, are every where buſy in magnifying thoſe Succeſſes, as well as the People's Fears; it will not, I hope, be unſeaſonable to revive the Hiſtory of thoſe Times when this Pretender was created, and to ſhow by the then publick, as well as private authentick Records, the original Scene of that Impoſture; by which will manifeſtly appear, the great Share *Lewis* XIV. then King of *France*, had,

in

in Conjunction with *James* II. then King of *England*, in that Scene of Iniquity: For which Reaſon, it will be neceſſary to examine thoſe Tranſactions that were preparatory to that great Deſign.

No ſooner was King *James* ſettled in the Throne of *England*, but he ſet himſelf about what he had deſigned while he was at the Court of *France*, I mean, the eſtabliſhing the Popiſh Religion in his Realms; in order to which, he impoſed by Degrees on his Subjects, in their ſeveral Stations and Places, ſuch illegal Things as in their Conſciences, they conceived, could never be juſtified unto God, or the Kingdom. And yet they were preſſed upon them (without Regard to their Conſciences) by Loſs of their Offices and Employments, and many other threatened Effects of the King's Diſpleaſure: For,

I. Moſt of the Proteſtants were preſſed to declare for a Repeal of all the Laws made for the Reformation of our Religion, and its Settlement.

II. All the Subjects were forced to ſubmit to ſerve and obey thoſe that were no *lawful Judges*, *Sheriffs*, *Juſtices of the Peace*, *Mayors*, *Lords Lieutenants*, and other Commanders; and all were threatened, vexed, and perſecuted, that dared ſay, that ſuch had no *lawful Authority*.

III. All the Subjects were commanded to ſuffer all the Actions and Offences of their Lives,

Lives, and the Secrets of their Hearts to be ſearch'd into, and their chief Intereſts and Freeholds to be judged by the Diſcretion of a few of the King's Creatures, called his *Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, whoſe Commiſſion was to proceed without, and againſt the Rules of our Laws, with a *non obſtante* to all other Laws; and every Man was required to aſſiſt their arbitrary Powers, on Peril of their Cenſures, which extended to Impriſonment for Life.

IV. All our Miniſters were required, under grievous menaced Penalties, to be the King's Criers, to proclaim in the Churches the King's Power to ſuſpend at once the Force and Uſe of all the penal Laws, made four hundred Years before to ſecure the Rights of the Crown, the Freedom and Properties of the Realm, and the Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion.

V. All Proteſtants were forced, by Fear of the King's Wrath, to ſuffer the Rights of the Crown, and the Freedom of the Realm againſt foreign Powers and Laws, to be publickly denied, and the Force of foreign Laws over them to be maintain'd: they were enjoined by the King to neglect their ſworn Duty to God, the Crown, and the Kingdom; of proſecuting at Law thoſe Treaſons which they knew and ſaw to be daily committed, for which no Excuſe could be made on Pretence of Liberty of Conſcience in Chriſt's Religion.

VI. The Conſtables, and other Officers throughout the Realm, were forced to quarter

Iriſh and *Scots*, and other Soldiers in their Neighbours Houſes, againſt their Wills, in the Contempt of the ancient Laws, and expreſs Words of the Statutes of this Realm.

VII. All the Freeholders were preſs'd to renounce their native and legal Freedom in their Choice of Members of Parliament.

VII. The Freedom of the Cities and Towns were urged to yield up to the King's Will the Tenure of their Magiſtracies, and all their free Cuſtoms and Privileges.

IX. All the People were forced, by Fear of Puniſhments, *to ſuffer a Child to be declared Heir apparent of the Crown of Great Britain*, which ought not by the known Laws of the Kingdom to have been acknowledged, until lawful Witneſſes of his Birth of the Queen had been duly publiſhed to the Kingdom, as was neceſſary in that Caſe, when publick Fame had made him a Counterfeit; yet the People were forced to ſeem in their public Prayers to preſent him to God as their Prince, and dared not aſk who were the Witneſſes of his Birth.

X. Many of the Juries were preſs'd to find their Neighbours Criminals, though in their Conſciences they thought them innocent, as was notorious (among many other Inſtances) in the Caſe of thoſe that made innocent Expreſſions of their Joy for the Juſtice that was done to the Seven Biſhops; and many were forced to be tried in Matters about their Eſtates, by Fines, and their Lives alſo, by Juries return'd by *ſecret Contrivances and Nominations*, contrary

contrary to the Direction of our Laws, being neither of the moſt ſufficient, nor moſt indifferent of the neareſt Neighbours to the Facts in queſtion, nor by Sheriffs ſworn as the Laws require, whereby the Courſe of the Kingdom's Juſtice was perverted, and the legal Government ſubverted.

That many of their legal Liberties, Benefits, and Means of Subſiſtence in their Churches and Colleges were taken from them by meer Will and Pleaſure (*a*); and Proceſſes and Proſecution by arbitrary Commiſſioners were threaten'd and begun againſt Numbers of them, without Guilt of the leaſt Offence or Tranſgreſſion againſt any of the Laws of this Realm.

(*b*) They were debarred and ſpoiled of the due free Election of their Magiſtrates and Officers in their Cities and Towns, (*c*) and pretended

(*a*) The Caſe of the Lord Biſhop of *London*, of Dr *Peachel*, Vice Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and Maſter of *Pembroke Hall*, deprived; of Dr *Hough*, and twenty ſix Fellows of *Magdalen College*, *Oxford*; beſides the Demyes outed from their Freeholds and Livelihood, and decreed incapable of any Preferment, only for keeping to the Law, the Statute of their College, and Oaths; the Suſpenſion of near two Hundred Miniſters in the County of *Durham*, for refuſing to read to their People the King's Declaration for diſpenſing with our Laws, *&c.*

(*b*) *Viz.* the Summons of the Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs to the Chancellors, Commiſſaries, and Arch-Deacons of the Dioceſe, and of moſt of the Biſhops, to return the Names of all the Miniſters that did not read the King's Declaration, wherein they tranſgreſs'd no Law, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil.

(*c*) The City of *London*, and all the Cities and Towns Corporate, the King ſet up whom he pleaſed to name.

tended Officers and Magiſtrates were impoſed upon them, and turn'd out and put in at the King's Will and Pleaſure, as they were found ready to comply with and ſerve his Popiſh Deſign, either ignorantly or corruptly.

That ſeveral of the Bodies Politick of their Cities and Towns were declared to be diſſolved at the King's Pleaſure, to terrify and ſubjugate the Minds of all the reſt, and the Citizens and Burgeſſes were thereby disfranchiſed, and diveſted of all their good Cuſtoms, Freedoms, and Privileges, if they did not comply with his illegal Commands, and treacherouſly ſurrender their legal Rights and Privileges to his Will; and that the legal Securities provided by the Kings and Kingdom in Parliament, againſt the Danger of their Religion and Liberty, *(d)* were, by the King's abſolute Command, thrown aſide, and made uſeleſs by Pretence of his Power to diſpenſe with theſe penal Laws, notwithſtanding the Subjects Right to them for the Protection and Safety of their Religion, Liberties, and Lives, whereby the very Foundation of all the Subjects Rights and Properties were undermined and ſhaken, and a new Claim ſet

(d) See the Statutes of 25 and 30 *Car.* II. which were made expreſsly for the Proteſtants Security. So were thoſe of 5 *El.* 1. 13. *El.* 2. 23. *El.* 1. 27. 1 *Jac.* 5. *Jac.* 1. and the Stat. 25 *Hen.* VIII. 19, 20, 21. and many other ancient Statutes of *Ed.* I. *Ed.* II. *Ed.* III. and *Rich.* II. which were made on Purpoſe to ſecure the People from the Apprehenſions of the Church of *Rome*; and King *James* declared, none of them ſhould at any Time be put in Execution.

ſet up and maintained ; that the Subjects have no Right, Property, or Security againſt the Will and Pleaſure of their King. And by colour of ſuch diſpenſing Power, the Truſt of the Kingdom's Defence and Safety by military Powers, were put into ſuch Hands as were made incapable of them by many expreſs Laws of the King's and *(f)* Kingdom's in Parliament, which then gave the Proteſtants ſad Apprehenſions of imminent Dangers, ſeeing themſelves put into the Power of thoſe that publickly profeſſed to be in Union and Communion with the Church of *Rome*, which Church openly declared herſelf to be the mortal Enemy to all Proteſtants. And that ſhe was bound on Peril of Salvation to ſeek the Deſtruction of all thoſe who would continue conſtant to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*.

That contrary to expreſs Laws of the Realm, an (*g*) Army of Papiſts and Mercenaries were maintained, and diſpoſed through the Kingdom in full Peace, to the great Terror and Diſquiet of the Proteſtants ; and they were conſtrained to receive thoſe Soldiers into their Houſes, to ſojourn there againſt their Wills, whereby

(f) By the Statute of the eleventh of *James* I. and *Charles* II. profeſs'd Papiſts were made incapable to hold any Truſt or Power in the Kingdom.

(g) See the Petition of Rights 3d *Car.* I. the Statutes of *Car.* II. that declare the diſperſing of Soldiers into the Country, and quartering them in the Subjects Houſes, to be againſt the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm ; and 'tis demanded as the Peoples Rights that they ſhall never be ſo burdened by Soldiers.

whereby they were deprived of their Peace and Security in their Families, and of their Converſe with their Neighbours and Friends, and all the Advantages in their Ways of Living. The King alſo forbid the Execution of the ancient Laws of the Realm againſt diverſe ſorts of Treaſons, and other moſt heinous Crimes, and all Statutes made five hundred Years before in relation to *(b)* Popes and popiſh Prieſts, tho' the Experience of the Papiſts in all thoſe Ages ſhow'd thoſe Precepts and Practices to be ſo miſchievous and dangerous, that they often complained in Parliament, they feared the Deſtruction of theKingdom by them. *(i)*

The King ſo controul'd the Courts of Law in the Courſe wherein Juſtice ought to be adminiſtred, that the Judges (tho' they ſerved the Popiſh Deſigns) were turn'd out of their Places, Honours and Penſions, if they dared ſuffer the Laws to acquit thoſe whom the King would have condemned, as appeared by diverſe Inſtances, particularly his diſplacing Judge *Holloway*, and Judge *Powel*, upon the legal Acquittal of the ſeven Biſhops.

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(b) See the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, that ſuſpends the Execution of all penal Laws whatſoever in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, thoſe that made it Treaſon to maintain the Pope's Power and Canons to be above our Laws, or to take Diſpenſation of Obedience to them.

(c) See the Statutes 35 *Ed.* I. 25 *Ed.* III. 72 *Ed.* III. 16 *Ric.* II. 3.

The Monarchy of *England* was founded on equal Freedom; and the Civil Government was always of Right *(k)* free, becauſe no Laws or Authorities ever bound the Perſons and Properties of the Kingdom, ſave only thoſe wherein the King and all the Subjects freely agreed; every Subject's free *(l)* Conſent being deemed by our Laws to be given perſonally by his Deputies to the enacting and repealing of every Law.

Therefore the Statutes of old, in Affirmance of the common Cuſtom of *England*, declared, that Elections ſhould be free from all Interruptions and Interpoſitions by the King or Pope; and the Kings have bound themſelves by the Statutes, no way to diſturb any Electors in making their free Elections. *(m)*

No Commands, Promiſes, or Threats, no Prayers nor Sollicitations ought to be made unto the Electors by the King or the Pope, or any others: The Peoples Deputies (ſay the Laws) are to be choſen freely and indifferently,

(k) See 24 *Hen.* VIII. 12. 25 *Hen.* VIII. 21. 'tis declared that the Realm is free, and ſubject to no Laws but by their own Conſent; and that the King and Parliament repreſenting the whole State of the Nation, have the Power to diſpenſe with the Laws as they ſhall ſee Occaſion.

(l) See the Statute, 1 *Ja.* I. *c.* 1.

(m) See Stat. *Weſtm.* 1. 3 *Ed.* VI. the Common Law is there declared, and the King bindeth himſelf not to diſturb any Electors, to make free Elections. See *Car.* II. Parl. See 7 *Hen.* IV. 15 *Hen.* VI. 4. 9 *Hen.* IV. 8.

rently without Pre-engagement of the Electors, or Fear of diſpleaſing the King, and without Promiſes of Favour or Rewards to them. They are to be indifferent at the time of Election, and in ſuch manner to proceed, notwithſtanding any Requeſt or Command to the contrary, otherwiſe the Elections are void and null.

But King *James*'s various Attempts and Practices to overturn this Foundation of our Government were not to be numbered: For infinite Endeavours and Artifices were openly uſed, to deſtroy the Cuſtoms, Privileges, Charters, and Governments of all the Cities and Boroughs, by which four Parts in five of the Members of the Commons in Parliament were choſen by his ſole Direction, to bring all thoſe Bodies Politick, and their Magiſtrates and Officers to be dependant on the King's Will; and to be obliged, as his Creatures (not the Cities and Towns Truſtees) to ſerve his Popiſh and arbitrary Deſigns, or to be turn'd out of their Places at his Pleaſure; and ſuch as were Papiſts, or more ignorant and corrupt, put into their Places. And more effectually to deſtroy the Government under Colour of Law, there were cauſeleſs Writs of *Quo warranto's* brought by the King againſt moſt of the Cities and Boroughs of the Kingdom; theſe were ſeconded by proper Inſtruments appointed to terrify the Magiſtrates of the Cities and Towns with the King's ſevere Diſpleaſure, if

they

they dared to inſiſt upon their legal Right, and conteſt with the King at Law, to fright them with the intolerable Charge, that their legal Defence would coſt them more than they could bear, and boldly affirming, that they could not hope to maintain their Cuſtoms, Privileges and Charters againſt the King, ſince he was reſolv'd to have them at his Command. Then they tempted them with Promiſes of new Charters, if they would comply, and ſurrender their old Liberties into the King's Hands; and pretended that the Names of all that refuſed ſo to do, muſt be returned to the King's Attorney-General. There were Judges alſo prepar'd to damn the Pleas of ſuch Cities and Towns, as would ſtand upon their Right, and plead to the *Quo Warranto's*, as the Magiſtrates of *London* reſolved to do, their Common-Council refuſing to ſurrender their Liberties, notwithſtanding all the Commands, Terrors and Intreaties that were uſed to them. They knew it was not in their Power to betray their City, nor in the King's Power to receive unto himſelf the Cuſtoms, Powers, and Privileges, which the Great Charter and the Common Law had given them.

But ſuch Judges as would not judge that ancient Body politick (that had then holden their Cuſtoms above a thouſand Years) to be diſſolved, were turned out, and all the Freedoms and Privileges due to the Citizens and their Heirs, and to the City and their Succeſſors, were declared by thoſe Judges to be forfeited;

his Majesty's Instruments thereby preparing a Way (under the Shadow of the late King) to destroy the Government of all other Cities and Towns, by frightening them into Surrenders, or making a Precedent for Judgment against them; and it had such Effect, that the Term of almost all those Bodies Politick was illegally changed, and the Cities and Towns brought to such forlorn Estate, that they had no Magistrates, or Officers, but at the King's Will, and during his Pleasure. And as there was such a total Subversion of the Freedom of the Government of the Cities and Towns, the Tenure of their Magistrates and free Customs being utterly destroyed, and those that did exercise their Magistracies being incapable to chuse freely and indifferently, and to return legally Members for Parliament; so there were continual Attempts upon the personal Freedom and Indifferency of all the Electors of Parliament throughout the whole Kingdom: His Majesty personally sollicited, and attached so many of them by his Smiles and Frowns in secret, to accept of such for Deputies in Parliament as would comply with his Designs, that his closeting of Electors became a By-word amongst the People. He made their Consent to be barr'd of their Freedom in electing for Parliament, and in voting therein if they were chosen, to be a Test of their Fitness to hold their Offices and Employments of Profit and Trust, and to have Place in the Magistracy.

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The Lords-Lieutenants of all the Counties in *England* ſummoned, by the King's Order, the chief Officers and Gentlemen, in his Majeſty's Name, to flatter, or terrify them out of the Uſe of their Freedom in electing for Parliament; and Marks of the King's Diſpleaſure were put upon thoſe that reſolved to keep their Freedom and Indifferency to elect worthy and fit Deputies according to their Judgments and Conſciences. But a ſtrange Sort of Commiſſioners were ſent by his Majeſty throughout all *England*, to delude and affright the Electors into a Choice of ſuch Members for a Convention (to be called a Parliament) as did engage to ſerve his Deſigns of aboliſhing all thoſe ancient Laws and Teſts, that were the only human Securities of the free Poſſeſſion of our Religion, and the cleareſt authoritative Declarations of the Rights of the Crown, and the Liberties of the People. It then plainly appeared that the Ax was laid to the Root of our Civil Government, and a moſt certain Way paved to introduce the Laws and Religion of *Rome*. Yet, to convince the World in that Matter, his Majeſty publiſhed a ſecond Declaration, wherein he poſitively declared that no one ſhould be imployed under him in the Kingdom, who would not contribute to his Deſigns, and chuſe ſuch Members of Parliament as would do their Parts to finiſh what he had begun. He pronounced all that did refuſe it to be neither good Chriſtians, nor Lovers of their Country's Wealth and

and Power; and declared, that he begun his Form of Government ſuitable to thoſe Principles, having turned out, by his abſolute Will, many Civil and Military Officers throughout the Kingdom in Purſuance of that great Work. It was then out of Diſpute his Majeſty could not ſuffer any free Election for Parliament, whilſt there were ſuch Numbers of faithful Proteſtants to conteſt for the Elections, who could not in Conſcience contribute to the Work he had begun: That was, upon Pretence of Liberty of Conſcience, to allow his Majeſty to ſurrender to the Pope the Rights and Freedom of the Crown and Kingdom, or to acknowledge, that the People of *England* ought, by the Laws of God and Chriſt, to be ſubjected to the Church of *Rome*'s Laws and Juriſdictions in their Perſons and Eſtates; that the Pope, and his Prieſts and Canoniſts ſhould judge them by their Canons, in the Lawfulneſs of their Marriages and Contracts, and legitimate or baſtardize their Heirs as they pleaſe; that the Diſpoſal of their Goods and Chattels by their laſt Wills and Teſtaments, their Debts about Tithes, and their good Names and Bodies, on Pretence of Penances, ſhould be in their Power and Will.

His Majeſty's avowed Intent and Endeavours appeared, to free the Emiſſaries of *Rome*'s Prieſts and Papiſts from the Puniſhments and Dangers of our penal Laws, againſt ſuch manifeſt Attempts upon the Freedom, Rights, and Properties of this Realm, that his then

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new eſtabliſhed Popiſh College, his Convents of Monks, his four Provincial Biſhops, his numerous Prieſts might be authorized by him, without Force of Laws, to maintain the Church of *Rome*'s Canons to be of greater Authority than the Laws of the Realm; to declare all Power in the Hands of Proteſtants to be unlawful; and all Right and Title to their Eſtates to be forfeited, by their being Proteſtants; to own and juſtify Diſpenſations from the Pope, with their Obedience to all ſuch Laws of the Realm, as he and his Prieſts ſhould diſlike, and profeſſedly to hold Communion with the Church of *Rome*, the *French* King, and all foreign Papiſts, that declared themſelves mortal Enemies to the Religion and Power of Proteſtants; and to contrive, with them, the Suppreſſion, or Extirpation of them out of this Realm. This Work His Majeſty ſo far carried on, that he ſuſpended and ſtop'd the Execution of the penal Laws againſt all the High Crimes, ſome whereof the ancient Papiſts of theſe Kingdoms made Capital; and declared all ſuch Proteſtants as would not help finiſh it, not to be qualified as Chriſtians, or *Engliſhmen*, for any Employment in the Kingdom, and therefore leaſt of all for Members of Parliament, and hereby abſolutely confining the Electors in their Choice to ſuch only as his Majeſty approved of. But that was not ſufficient for his Purpoſe, but a total Abolition of all our ancient Penal Laws that were not agreeable to the new-invented Doctrines, which thoſe Statutes ſhow'd to have been

been abhorred by our ancient *Engliſh* Papiſts: The Deſign was to deſtroy the very Conſtitution and Form of Government of this Kingdom, from whence aroſe thoſe Penal Laws againſt that Church's proud Domination and Uſurpation of the Rights of this Crown and Realm. They knew our Hiſtories and Records ſhew'd that a free Parliament always made Complaint from Age to Age againſt their perniciousClaims of Power over our *(a)* Kings, our Laws, and Courts of Judicature and their Judgments; and againſt their Exactions, Impoſitions, Frauds, and Deluſions of the People, with their ſuperſtitious Folly, whereby they gained a Third of the Revenues of *England*, *(b)* and drew ſo much Money to *Rome*, that they impoveriſhed and almoſt ruined thisKingdom. They were ſenſible that they had been able to enſlave to the Pope and Prieſts ſeveral of the greateſt of *England*'s Kings; that they could prevail with the King for Licenſes and Pardons to them to tranſgreſs the Laws that the Parliament made to preſerve the Subjects Rights and Properties; and that the Parliament only cauſed new Laws to be made *(c)* for declaring ſuch Licenſes, Diſpenſations, and Pardons of the King's void and null. They knew they had perſuaded ſeveral of the Kings, that the Pope would abſolve theirConſcience from all Obligation

(*a*) See the grievous Complaints of the Commons in 25 *Ed.* III. 4 Proviſo; and 6 *Ric.* II. 5. 27 *Ed.* III.

(*b*) See the Parliament Roll, 4 *H.* IV. 1 *H.* V.

(*c*) See the Stat. 3 *H.* V. Stat. 4. 7 *H.* IV. 8.

tion by the Laws, and from Agreements, Promiſes, and Oaths to the Kingdom, *(a)* to maintain their great Charters, and all their Laws and Liberties; and that they prevailed upon one of them *(b)* to reſign the Kingdom entirely into the Hands of the Pope, and to hold it of him by Rent; and they knew that a free Parliament only made and declared all ſuch Diſpenſations and Reſignations void and null, and juſtly required thoſe Kings to renew their Oaths to the Kingdom to preſerve their Liberties; and ſcorned (with Indignation) the Pope's Demands of his pretended Rent for the Kingdom, (*c*) declaring that their Kings had no ſuch Patrimonial Right in the Kingdom, to ſubject it to any Power upon Earth.

They knew that freely-choſen Repreſentatives of this Kingdom could not ſuffer ſuch a Deluſion to be put upon them, to be perſuaded that due Chriſtian Liberty of Conſcience requires them either to allow the foreign *Romiſh* Laws or Canons to conteſt for Power and Place with the Laws of *England*, or to ſuffer any of the Subjects of *England* openly to profeſs themſelves, their Perſons, Marriages, or Eſtates to be ſubject to any Foreigner's Juriſdiction, and to depend on their Authority, Offices, and Sanctions, and the Exerciſe of them, for their eternal Salvation (which is in Truth to renounce their

(*a*) *Hen.* III. *Ed.* I.

(*b*) See the Roll Parl. 40 *Ed.* III. Num. 8. Clau. 3. *Ed.* I. King *John*'s Charter and Grant to the Pope, ſince burnt.

their Subjection to *England*;) or to own, and avow to have the neareſt Union and Communion with Foreigners that openly profeſs themſelves mortal Enemies to this Nation, and openly profeſs themſelves bound in Conſcience to ſeek and procure its Suppreſſion and Deſtruction. They knew very well, that a free *Engliſh* Parliament very well underſtood, that no Doctrines of *Jeſus Chriſt* ever intended to deſtroy the Natural and Civil Right of any Nation whatſoever; or allowed that a free People ſhould depend upon their declared Enemies; therefore they were determined to overturn the very Foundation of our Civil Government, the People's free Choice of their Repreſentatives in Parliament, and yet, as the ſafeſt Way, to keep up a Shadow of Elections for their intended Convention; which they effectually did, by forming Bodies Politic of Cities and Towns to name and return for their Deputies whom the King ſhould name; (*a*) and by the ſpecious Name of Liberty of Conſcience, with Promiſes of Favour and Threats of Diſpleaſure, to deceive and affright the other Electors to accept of whom the King ſhould offer.

Thus far had King *James* the Second, in Conjunction with his Jeſuits, carried on the Deſign to ſubvert the Liberty of the Proteſtant Religion in *England*, which had been formed and concluded on many Years before in the ſecret Councils of the Popiſh Princes, to root

(*a*) *Cromwell* took upon him ſuch a Power, to ſend for Men by his Letters without Elections.

root out of *Europe* the Poſſeſſion of that Reformed Religion, and the People's Liberties. To mention the notorious, actual Proſecutions of that Popiſh Reſolution in ſeveral Kingdoms and Dominions (*x*), the treacherous Falſeneſs of thoſe Princes in their Treaties, Agreements and Oaths, the Oppreſſions and Bloodſhed, and all Kinds of Unrighteouſneſs that were practiſed in order to that general Deſign:

The Inſtance of the *French* King is alone enough to be named, becauſe he owned, and publiſhed to the World, his Part of the Deſign: And by comparing the Violences, Baniſhments, and Murders, done upon Proteſtants at the ſame Time by other Popiſh Princes, (as they were able) with his publick Confeſſions of his long-lay'd Deſign, we may make a true Judgment of the Whole.

The *French* King, by his Edict (*y*) of 1685, declared, that he entered into that Deſign from his coming to the Crown; and it appears by that Edict, then prepared and agreed by his Council of Conſcience, that all his renew'd Edicts in the Proteſtants Favour, his acknowledging and regiſtering in Parliament their great Services for him, and his advancing many of them to the higheſt Dignities Military and Civil in his Kingdom, were done to

 flatter

(*x*) That in *France*, the Dukedom of *Savoy*, the Kingdom of *Poland*, and many others.

(*y*) That Edict of 1685, is worthy to be read by every true Proteſtant.

flatter and deceive them (*z*): He calls God to be Witneſs of his Deſigns and Reſolutions at that Time to aboliſh their Religion by Degrees, and that he only attended this fit Opportunity for that great Work, as it was called by our King (*James* II.) and that Edict. In that Interim of his ſeeming Kindneſs to the Proteſtants, and ſolemn Profeſſions to them, and ſome of the Proteſtant Princes, for their obſerving faithfully the Law and Edict of *Nantz*, that was like the Proteſtants *Magna Charta*, there were all poſſible ſecret Contrivances and Practices to prepare for that great Work, eſpecially in *England*, that had long been the Head of the Reformed Religion, and the chief Terror of the King of *France* and the Popiſh World. He ſhow'd his Fear, when he baniſh'd King *James* and King *Charles* in their Diſtreſs, rather than diſpleaſe *Cromwell*; he therefore applied his principal Counſels and Endeavours to diſtract and weaken the Proteſtants in *England*, and to perſuade King *Charles* covertly to increaſe and ſtrengthen the Popiſh Party; and for that End his deareſt Confeſſor, the Jeſuit *Le Chaiz*, was ordered to correſpond with Mr *Coleman*, that was then Secretary to the Duke of *York*; and the Letters (*a*), confeſſed

(*z*) 'Tis fit to ſee in that Edict, prepared as it was publiſhed, the Opinion they had of Proteſtants: That they are deemed incapable of having any Right to claim the Benefit of Treaties, Promiſes, or Oaths made to them by the Papiſts.

(*a*) See Mr *Coleman*'s Letters, printed and publiſhed by the Parliament's Command.

feſſed by him before Thouſands, ſhow'd, that the Matter propoſed was to root out of the World the Proteſtant Religion, under the Name of the *Northern Hereſy*: And ten times more of that bloody Deſign had appeared, if Mr *Coleman*'s Letters that were brought to *Whitehall*, had not been ſuppreſſed and kept from the Parliament. Yet Mr *Coleman*, on his Trial, confidently avowed before all People that bloody Deſign, and that he was only a ſubordinate Miniſter in it. It appeared by thoſe Letters, that the *French* King's Money was to manage that Work; and the Letters brought into Parliament by the Lord *Montague*, acknowledged by King *Charles* to be written by his Order, prove to the World that he was contented to become the *French* King's Penſioner for five hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, to keep off the Meeting of Parliaments. It was alſo manifeſt to the World, that, about that Time, all Kinds of Artifices that the Jeſuits Councils could invent, were uſed to pervert the Faith and Religion of the *United Provinces*, or to betray them into the *French* King's Power, or at leaſt a Dependance upon him. That an Agreement was between the *French* King and King *Charles*, to ſubdue and divide thoſe Provinces, that they might no more be a Support or Refuge for the Proteſtants. The World had alſo ſeen Effects of the *French* King's Proſecution of the ſame Deſign againſt *Sweden*, and to ſuch as he could prevail with in the Court of *Bran-*

Brandenburgh, and all other Princes Courts that adhered to the Proteſtant Intereſt. But his chief Expectance was upon the then King of *England*, and his Miniſters and Counſellors (*b*), who concurred in all the ſecret Practices and Contrivances to weaken the Power of the Proteſtants, and to ſuffer the Greatneſs, Glory, and Terror of the King of *France* to be advanced: But he never openly and avowedly joined with him in that great Work againſt the Proteſtant Religion, he having deluded his Subjects with ſo many ſolemn Proteſtations of his Faithfulneſs to their Religion and Liberties.

The *French* King found by Experience, that the Parliaments had prevailed to break all the Meaſures they had taken together for the Deſtruction of the *United-Provinces*, by obliging him to a ſeparate Peace with them, which had forced him to let fall his then ſpreading Plumes, and in crafty Ways to ſeek and ſollicit a Truce; and therefore he durſt not during our King's (*Charles* II.) Reign put in Execution his great Work that he declared had been ſo long in his Heart: That is, by Torments, Murders, and all ſorts of Barbarities to ſuppreſs the Profeſſors, and Profeſſion of the Reformed Religion, and entirely to raze and expunge the Memory of it, as his Edicts and his Practices declared to be his Intentions. The *French* King did not throw off his Diſguiſe, and ſhow himſelf

(*b*) *Charles* II.

ſelf to be a ravening Wolf to his Proteſtant Subjects, till King *James* II. had publickly eſpouſed the Popiſh Deſign, which he had together with him long proſecuted in the dark, nor until he (King *James*) had begun to invade the Proteſtant Liberties and Securities by putting the military Powers into Popiſh Hands, and to demand the Parliament's Conſent to a Law (which they refuſed) to make his Papiſts the Guardians of the Proteſtants Religion and Lives.

The *French* King knew that the People of *England* were then in no Capacity to interpoſe in Behalf of his Proteſtant Subjects, however he ſhould deſtroy them; and, as his Edict ſaid, being by the Truce without fear of a Diſturbance, he intirely applied himſelf to that great Deſign; he ſent his Dragoons to deſtroy the poor Proteſtants Goods, and to torment their Bodies, with more Cruelty and Inhumanity than was ever practiſed ſince the Creation; he reſolved for his Glory (as his Clergy told him) to ſhow himſelf the firſt and moſt illuſtrious of the Church's Children, and the Extirpator of the Proteſtant Hereſie, which they told him was a more ſolid and immortal Title than he acquired by his greateſt Triumphs. He then proſecuted that great Work, as *Saul* did to ſtrange Countries, breathing out Threatnings and Slaughter; he ſent to the Duke of *Savoy*, and as that Court complained, perſuaded and frighted that Prince into a moſt unchriſtian and bloody Decree, to compel the moſt ancient

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Proteſtants in the Valleys of *Piedmont* to turn Papiſts forthwith; and they being faithful to their Religion, that Edict was purſued by the help of his Dragoons, and the harmleſs Proteſtants tormented, and murdered more cruelly than the worſt of Vermin, (*b*) until they were utterly deſtroyed, and their Country given to the Papiſts.

(*c*) That Court of *Savoy* ſeemed aſhamed of that horrid Wickedneſs, and ſaid for their Excuſe, that the *French* King declared he would root out the Proteſtants by his own Force, and poſſeſs the Country, if the Duke would not have aſſiſted him therein.

But the Suppreſſing the Proteſtants in *England* had always been eſteemed the principal Part of the Popiſh Deſigns to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion: and therefore all the *Romiſh* Councils, Policies, and Induſtries, their Conſpiracies, Poyſoning and Maſſacres, had been long employed about it, and had perfectly gained King *James* to ſerve their Deſigns; they had united him with the *French* King, that their conjoined Councils, Treaſures, and Strength, might finiſh their Work of bringing *England* into Subjection to their Church. Both the Kings were under the like Conduct, and our King proceeded in the ſame Method againſt us, wherein the *French* King had been ſucceſsful

(*b*) See the Relation of it printed.

(*c*) See Doctor *Burnet*'s Relation of it, by a Letter from his perſonal Enquiry.

ſucceſsful to deſtroy the Proteſtants of his Kingdom. His firſt Attempt was to ſubvert our civil Government and Laws, and the Freedom and Being of Parliaments, juſt as the *French* King firſt invaded the Supreme legal Authority of *France*, which was veſted in the Aſſembly of Eſtates. Our King, in Imitation of his Brother of *France*, ſtrove to bring all Offices, and Magiſtracy of this Kingdom, that were legally of the Peoples Choice, to be ſolely and immediately dependant on his abſolute Will for their Being, whether they aroſe from our Common Law, or were inſtituted by Statutes or Charters. He endeavoured to bring the Diſpoſal of all Properties and Eſtates of the People, and their Lives and Liberties, to be at his meer Will, by a Perverſion of the inſtituted Courſe of our Juries, and by Judges and a Chancellor fit for that Purpoſe, and every Moment dependant on his Pleaſure. He endeavoured to make his Proclamations and Declarations to have as much Power over our Laws as the *French* King's Edicts; and after his Example he eſtabliſhed a mercenary Army to maſter and ſubdue the People to his Will. Our King had the ſame Copy by which the *French* King wrote, to aſſure the Proteſtants of Grace and Clemency, giving them Promiſes of equal Liberty of Conſcience with his Papiſts, in preferring to Offices and Employments thoſe he reſolved to puniſh and ruin, preventing Execution of the Laws, and in allowing the Liberty of Conſcience in ſome Notions, and the outward

outward Forms of Worſhip in the Chriſtian Religion, provided always that they had no regard to Conſcience for the Subſtance of Chriſt's Religion in Juſtice, and Righteouſneſs, nor ſtumble at complying with him, or aſſiſting him in the higheſt Crimes againſt Jeſus Chriſt, by invading the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and aſſuming a forcible Domination to oppreſs whom he pleaſed: Which was a Subverſion of the very Foundation of Juſtice and Love amongſt Men, and by Conſequence of the Religion preached and eſtabliſhed by Chriſt. Theſe Matters of Fact are ſelf-evident, and demonſtrated that thoſe grievous Oppreſſions by our King were the Effects of the united Councils of the Popiſh Intereſt, whereof the *French* King was Chief. The Conſpiracy againſt the true Religion and Liberties that then appeared in *England*, comprized all the Proteſtant Princes and States in *Europe*. *England* indeed was then firſt attacked as the principal Fortreſs of the Proteſtant Religion. If the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* could be reduced to the Pattern of the *French* King in Government and Religion, and the Strength of them united againſt any ſingle Proteſtant State or Prince they ſhall think fit to aſſault; if they could by Artifice keep the reſt divided, there would be but little Hope of any long Defence of ſuch a State. Nor did the *French* King ſeem unwilling to have the Popiſh Deſign in general againſt all Proteſtants, tho' more eſpecially againſt *Eng-*

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land, known, when he allowed the Biſhop of *Coſnae*'s Speech to him at *Verſailles* in 1685 to be publiſhed, which Biſhop was the Mouth of the Clergy of that Kingdom; he magnified the *French* King for ſuppreſſing the Proteſtants of his own Kingdom, and aſks, what they might not then expect? *England*, ſaid he, is juſt offering to your Majeſty the moſt glorious Occaſion that you can deſire; the King of *England*, by the Need which he will have of Succour and Support of your Arms to maintain him in the Catholick Faith, will make you quickly find an Opportunity to give a Protection worthy of yourſelf.

It was very well known, before the *French* Clergy declared it by that Biſhop, that the ſame Head that had contrived the Perverſion and Deſtruction of ſo many Millions of the Proteſtants in that Kingdom, deſigned the Ruin of the *Engliſh* Religion and Liberty. But what ſurprized moſt was, that King *James* ſhould ſuffer that Speech, (publiſh'd by the *French* King's Authority) to be tranſlated and paſs freely in *England*, and thorough the World. What can be thought of that King of *England*, who was content his Subjects ſhould be told, that he muſt come under the Protection of a King of *France*, over whoſe Kings and Kingdom his Anceſtors had ſo often triumphed?

The *Engliſh* Proteſtants then were convinc'd all their Hopes reſted wholly in their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*,

which Princeſs was the then declared Heir to the three Kingdoms; and they were very well aſſured no Artifices of King *James*, nor of the *French* King, would divert them from their ſteady Attachment to the reformed Religion, tho' all poſſible Endeavours were uſed by the King of *England* to prevail upon them, under the Sanction of Liberty of Conſcience and *Magna Charta*, to ſuffer themſelves to be fetter'd in their Acceſſion to the Crown, with ſuch Conditions as were obtained in Parliament in the Caſes of Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*. And ſo bold and confident were the Papiſts then, that they actually gave it out by their Prieſts and Emiſſaries, that their Highneſſes had actually agreed to conſent to a Repeal of all the Penal Laws: And a falſe Jeſuit had the Front to whiſper it as a Secret, that the Prince of *Orange* would declare it as ſoon as the Opportunity was ſeaſonable. But after the King had ſent many Meſſages to their Highneſſes, who continued impregnable, it was given out with much Anger, that their Highneſſes continued obſtinate in their Errors, under Pretence of becoming popular with the Church of *England*, which the King declared they ſhould repent. But while every one was wondering what new Meaſures the King had to propoſe to the Parliament, in lieu of their Highneſs's Conſent to oblige themſelves (when come to the Crown) to conſent to a Repeal of the Penal Laws, ſo much deſired by his Majeſty, it was not long before it was rumour'd,

that

that the Queen was with Child, and the Prieſts unanimouſly gave it out, that would ſet aſide her Royal Highneſs's Right to the Succeſſion, and impudently affirmed it every where; and that miraculous Conception, the Papiſts declared, was obtained at the Requeſt of the Ducheſs of *Modena*, in Heaven, or Purgatory, and the Lady of *Loretto*, who had a fine Preſent for her Aſſiſtance in that wonderful Atchievement.

The very Expectation of eight or nine Months that the Queen might bring forth a Son, was greatly for the Popiſh Advantage, if the Device ſhould have failed by any unlucky Accident: It made a Stand for a Time of the Proteſtants of all Countries in their great Expectations from their Royal Highneſſes; it raiſed triumphant Hopes in all Popiſh Countries; it ſtrengthened the Papiſts Hands and Hearts to proſecute the Deſign vigorouſly, and prevailed upon many weak Proteſtants to make them believe a Succeſſion of Popiſh Princes, and that Liberty of Conſcience was only to be expected from them.

When the Story of the Queen's great Belly became univerſal, and that the Prieſts gave it out her Majeſty would certainly bring forth a Boy, many of the moſt conſiderate Proteſtants being in themſelves well ſatisfied a counterfeit Son was to be produced, they determined to watch every Circumſtance relating as well to the pretended Pregnancy, as to the Birth, whenever it ſhould happen. They knew very well

well that thoſe Prieſts maintained the vileſt Wickedneſs to be lawful for their Church's Service, and that they had been notorious for Impoſtures and Forgeries of all Sorts. They once forged an eternal Goſpel, as they called it, to ſupport the Orders of the Mendicant Friars; the Prieſts contrived Queen *Mary*'s great Belly for a counterfeit Heir to the Crown to have carried on their Catholick Cauſe; and as great publick Triumph and ſolemn Prayers for her great Belly were made at *Rome*, and in all Popiſh Countries, as were then made in the Queen's Caſe; but their Deſigns were unluckily croſs'd when her Deliverance was expected, and their Joys and Prayers vaniſhed in Smoak. Thoſe Prieſts were Agents for the bloody and unnatural Uſurpation of our *Richard* III.

A Prieſt preached at *Paul*'s *Croſs*, to make the People believe that King *Edward* IV. his elder Brother, whoſe Sons King *Richard* had murdered, was a Baſtard, not the lawful Son of *Richard* Duke of *York*.

It was a Prieſt's Invention and Management, to ſet up *Lambert Symnel*, a Baker's Son, againſt *Henry* VII. counterfeiting him to be Earl of *Warwick*; and he laying Claim to the Crown, was proclaimed King in *Ireland*, and march'd into *England* with a good Army to maintain his Pretence.

And by the like Device, *Perkin Warbeck*, another Counterfeit, was ſet up againſt the ſame *Henry* VII. by *Margaret* Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, to be *Richard* the younger Son of

Edward

Edward IV. and he made ſuch a conſiderable Party in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, as bid fair for the Crown.

The Remembrance of theſe Precedents of Counterfeits, ought to warn all Proteſtants well to examine the Proofs that were made to eſtabliſh the Title of the now pretended Heir to the Crown of *England*; which, for their Satisfaction in particular, and all others whom it may concern, I ſhall now produce.

1. There never was, or appeared to be, any reaſonable Grounds to believe, that her Majeſty had conceived a Child; ſhe never had the firſt moſt natural, known, and common Sign of Conception; for her Majeſty did not conceal it was with her after the Manner of Women during the whole Time of her pretended Pregnancy. It was well known it was ſo when ſhe was on her Journey to the *Bath*, and after the King left her; and all the Induſtry after to hide them in their Seaſons, proved ineffectual, becauſe thoſe Things came to the Knowledge of more than were privy to the intended Impoſture. Her Majeſty having not that natural Sign whereby Women uſually conclude themſelves to have conceived, from whence ſhe could make a Reckoning; it ſeem'd by the King's Speech in Council, that their Majeſties both thought fit to publiſh her Conception to have been at the Time of the Preſent to the Lady's Image at *Loretto*, at the King's Return to the Queen at the *Bath*; and it appeared pious and great, to make the Conception

tion one of the Miracles of the Lady's Image, tho' it happened unluckily that they could not afterwards make the Time of her Conception, and ſuppoſed Delivery, to agree with Nature's moſt conſtant Time of nine Months.

2. There is another Sign and Teſtimony of a Woman's being with Child, that is, the ſenſible Stirring of the Child in the Womb, which it was expected her Majeſty ſhould have ſhown with Joy, eſpecially to thoſe Proteſtant Ladies of her Bed-chamber, that doubted (as her Proteſtant Doctor, her then Phyſician) her being with Child, as far as they durſt, when the Quickening of a Child was pretended and publiſhed through the Kindom: It muſt have been a Pleaſure to her Majeſty (if it had been real) to have ſhewn the Motion of the Child in her Womb to honourable Matrons of her Bed-chamber, who might in all Reſpects have been lawful Witneſſes of that Truth to a juſtly jealous Nation. Theſe might have touched her Belly, and had been proper Judges, from their own Experience, of the true Motions of a Child in the Womb; and ſome of Conſanguinity with the Heirs apparent might have had that Favour, as our Laws and common Prudence directed, for removing any Scruples about the Truth of ſuch a Thing. But however induſtriouſly her Majeſty's quickening with Child was ſpread abroad, yet the feeling its Motions was never vouchſafed to any competent Witneſſes of it, to give the ſuſpicious King-

Kingdom any Ground to believe the Queen ever was with Child.

3. The next viſible and manifeſt Sign of the true natural Progreſs of a great Belly, is the Diſtenſion of all the Parts of the Body that incircle aud encompaſs the Womb. Such is the Place and Manner wherein Nature hath prepared the Lodging of the growing Child in the Womb, that according to its Growth and Increaſe, and the Quantity of Liquors that are naturally and neceſſarily congeſted there, ſo all the circumambient Parts muſt gradually extend to make Room. There never was, nor naturally can be, an Extenſion only of the *Peritoneum*, or Rim of the Belly, to give Room to the Child. And in this all Naturaliſts and Anatomiſts agree, that in that Manner no Child could ſubſiſt, and be born alive. And all Men and Women know, that all the Parts that encloſe the Cavity of the Womb ſwell regularly until the Time of the Delivery approach. But this neceſſary and natural Sign entirely fail'd in her Majeſty ; for it was well known, and atteſted by the moſt ſkilful Matrons, that attended her Majeſty on purpoſe, that the outward Parts of her Body, that encompaſſed her Womb, were of the ſame Proportion as at other Times, ſave only her Belly, which was copped up, and high, and look'd like a great Belly before ; but to thoſe that viewed her Majeſty behind, and on each Side, when ſhe walked, they never could perceive the leaſt Appearance in her of a genuine great Belly,

Belly, notwithſtanding particular Care was taken to obſerve her Majeſty till within a few Days of her pretended Travail. And for near four Months before the pretended Delivery, (thoſe being the Months when the circumambient Parts ſwell moſt) her Majeſty, contrary to her uſual Cuſtom, always withdrew herſelf from her Chamber, and retired into ſome private Room with two or three *Italians*, when ſhe changed her Linen, aud would never admit one Proteſtant Lady of the Bed-chamber to be with her at thoſe Times, as ſhe uſually had done before. Thoſe that were only capable of being proper Witneſſes for her Majeſty againſt common Fame (if Fame had belied her) thoſe were all excluded from a Poſſibility of ſeeing whether her Majeſty's Belly was truly and naturally great.

Nothing can be more manifeſt, than by the Circumſtances taken as they ought to be in Connexion with each other, that nothing appeared of the natural Plainneſs and Simplicity that always accompanies Truth, in the whole Demeanour of her Majeſty from the Time of her intended conceiving of a Child, to the Time of her feigned Delivery of the ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales*; the whole Tranſaction plainly ſhewed Trick and Deſign, to hide and ſmother Nature's Works, which ought to have been freely expoſed to the World, if there had been any Truth in the Pretences to a Birth of ſo great Conſequence. It was a Truth at that Time well known, that in the whole eight Months

Months and four Days, firſt reckoned to have been the Time of her Majeſty's Pregnancy, or from the Time of her going to *Bath* in the new Reckoning, there never was any of thoſe conſtant natural Signs in her Majeſty to believe that ſhe conceived a Child.

The Progreſs towards finiſhing this intended Impoſture of a Prince of *Wales* was perfectly anſwerable to the Beginning. In the Preparation for her Majeſty's ſuppos'd Delivery, there was no Regard had to the Rules of natural Equity and Law, nor any Appearance of that open Freedom and plain Proceeding that ought to have ſhown that they did not fear the Kingdom or the World's knowing the Truth in that pretended natural Work of bearing a Child, wherein the whole Kingdom, and ſo much of the whole World was concerned. If the Cuſtoms and Laws of *England* had been conſulted in that Caſe about the Preparations abſolutely neceſſary to have been made for her Majeſty's ſuppoſed Lying-in, the firſt of all Advices had certainly been to have given early Notice to her Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange*, and others in the neareſt Expectancy of ſucceeding to the Crown, of the Time of her expected Delivery, and the Place where ſhe intended to be delivered of ſuch a Prince ; that proper noble Matrons, and others, might have prepared themſelves and attended there, and been preſent in their Behalf, which might have ſuppreſſed and ſilenced forever by their Teſtimonies, all Suſpicions of Fraud and Impoſture:

But it is undeniable that no ſuch Notice was given to her Royal Highneſs, or to any of Conſanguinity with her, nor to any other noble Matrons of *England*; but ſuch Artifices were uſed as might moſt conceal the Time, and intended Place of her intended Child-Birth: And ſuch feigned Time had been publiſhed both by the King and Queen of her pretended Conception, that neither their Royal Highneſſes, nor any of the Nobility could poſſibly foreſee when the Tragi-Comedy (that was then ſaid to be acted) did begin.

The Place where her Majeſty was intended to lye-in was kept in ſuch Uncertainty, and often publiſhed ſo variouſly, ſometimes that it ſhould be at *Richmond*, ſometimes at *Windſor*, another time at *Hampton Court*, that none of the Nobles of either Sex that were of Kindred and Friends of the Heir apparent, nor of the Proteſtant Nobility, could know how to prepare themſelves for their Attendance on her Majeſty, as was their Duty to their Majeſties, her Royal Highneſs, and the whole Kingdom. But as the Publication of the Place was ſo often changed, and a Surprize in the Place was deſigned, ſo at laſt ſuch a ſudden, and ſeeming haſty Reſolution was taken a Day or two before her pretended Delivery, that her Lying-in ſhould be at St *James*'s (tho' none expected the Time to be nearer than three Weeks) that Commands were given for preparing her Lodgings there ſo haſtily, that when her Majeſty ſaid on the *Friday* ſhe would lie there on *Saturday*, and

it

it was told her it was not poſſible her Lodgings ſhould be ready, ſhe then ſaid ſhe would lye there on the Floor. The Proteſtants confided in the Princeſs of *Denmark*, that ſhe would have been a faithful Watcher for her own ſake, when the Time of her Majeſty's Deliverance of her great Belly ſhould come; but Care was taken to ſend her to *Bath* when ſhe wanted aſtringent Medicines, to keep her fourſcore Miles diſtant, till the pretended Prince ſhould be born.

When the firſt Notice was of her Majeſty's paſſionate Declaration to lye at St *James*'s on the *Saturday* Night, no body could, or did conjecture that the pretended Prince was to be brought forth on the *Sunday* following, nor was there the leaſt Whiſper of it, or the leaſt feigned or natural Sign of forerunning Pains of a Woman whoſe time of Travail was approaching; for her Majeſty was late at Cards the *Saturday* Night, nor had ſhe the leaſt Appearance of any Indiſpoſition then, nor was any pretended to have been the remaining Part of the Night: But the Event on the *Sunday* Morning ſhow'd plainly that her Majeſty's immoveable and fixt Reſolution to lye at St *James*'s that Night was, becauſe ſhe was to ſeem to bring forth a Prince on the *Sunday* Morning; and there was a cunning Contrivance in the Time of the Day too, which was between the Hours of nine and ten in the Morning, that all or moſt of the Proteſtant Ladies might be at Church, and the Trick be done before they came home; and that the Midwife, Mrs *Labady*, and the Favourite

Mrs

Mrs *Tourain*, might have Freedom and Secrecy to act their Parts in the bringing forth a ſuppoſititious Prince. The Room alſo that was choſen for the Trick to be acted in, was very fit for the Purpoſe, and contrary to the Rules of common Prudence to be choſen in a Caſe ſuſpected for ſetting up a fictitious Child, and ought to have been avoided, if their Meaning had been juſt and good: There was a private Door within the Ruel of the Bed, unſeen by any that ſhould attend in the Queen's Room, tho' at the Feet of the Bed; and by that Door the three Confidents, the Midwife, Mrs *Labady*, and Mrs *Tourain*, brought into her Majeſty's Bed what they pleaſed unſeen by any Body in the Room. If they had wanted no ſecret Conveyance by that Door, common Prudence required it had been nailed up, to avoid confirming and encreaſing the Kingdom's juſt and known Jealouſies of impoſing upon them a counterfeit Prince, when it ſhould be known (as it afterwards was) that there were ſuch ſecret Ways as made it ſo eaſy to be done by Confederation, undiſcerned by others that were in the Room; but it appeared by the Event, that a privy Door was ſo neceſſary for the deſigned Impoſture, that all the Tranſactions of it were managed by that Door, as was well known to all thoſe Lords of the Council that were brought for a Show, not to ſee any thing that was done, but only to be ſeen in the Bed-Chamber with his Majeſty, that their Names might be publiſhed (as they actually were afterwards) as Witneſſes of the Queen's being

being delivered of the pretended Prince of *Wales*.

But now, my Fellow Proteſtants, I have brought you to a Groaning of as great Conſequence as ever was to this and all Proteſtant Kingdoms and States, 'tis neceſſary I acquaint you what Company the Laws of this and all other Nations require to be perſonally preſent at ſo great and important Delivery.

I. Women, to have teſtified their perſonal Sight and Perception of that very individual Child coming naturally out of the Queen's Womb; and Men, to have witneſſed their immediate, free, and full Sight and Inſpection of that very Child, by the Women's Aſſiſtance, in its pure and natural Nakedneſs; with all thoſe known Marks and Tokens of his being juſt ſeparated from the Womb, and from thoſe other Things that are connatural to the Birth of a Child, the Effects of ſuch Separation being there viſible and impoſſible to be hidden.

II. That the Witneſſes of theſe Matters ſhould be proper Witneſſes, ſuitable to the Greatneſs of the Perſons and Things that were in Queſtion, and to the vaſt Conſequences that might enſue thereupon. Nature, or the firſt Light from God created in the Minds of Mankind, dictated the Equity of thoſe firſt *Roman* Imperial Laws, that appointed thoſe that aſſerted Filiation or Marriage, to prove them by fit, proper, and moſt unqueſtionable Witneſſes; moſt of the Writers about thoſe Laws ſerve themſelves with theſe Words (*Matrimoni-*

um:

um et Filiationem qui asserunt, debent probare per Testes idoneos omni exceptione majores :) They that alledge a Marriage, or a Child in being, by virtue whereof they claim, ought to prove it by Witnesses that are above, or beyond all possible Exception. In this Case there ought much more to have been such fit Witnesses, that nothing could have been objected against them in any respect, either by *Englishmen* or Foreigners.

III. That the Witnesses of both Sexes had been fit and proper in respect of their Age; that the Women had been Matrons, whose Gravity and Sobriety were fit to attract a decent Reverence from the Men of the like Quality, in their exposing to them nakedly what was unavoidably necessary.

IV. That they had been fit and proper, in regard to a Sufficiency of Knowledge and Understanding in the Matters of Child-bearing, such as knew by Experience all those Works of Nature; in what Manner the Mothers ought to be and are customarily treated in their real Travail and Childbearing, and immediately after it; and what are the natural Symptoms in the Mothers, that accompany their real bringing forth of a Child, before it hath been its natural Time of nine Months in the Womb, and at its natural Time; and also the Signs of a Child perfectly grown in the Womb, or brought to Light before its natural Time of Perfection. It was necessary that the Witnesses had been of such Knowledge and Experience in these Matters,

rers, or ſo ſufficiently informed about them by others of Skill and Faithfulneſs, that it might have been evident to the Kingdom, that ſuch Witneſſes could not be impoſed upon, deluded, or deceived by any cunning Artifices, to believe that pretended Prince to have been born of the Queen.

V. The general Rules of the Canon Law required, that the Witneſſes had been publicly known to the Kingdom by their Perſons, Names, Intereſt, Concern, and Employment. Our fundamental Laws have taken Care, that all Matters of Fact ſhould be decided by Juries of the Neighbourhood where the Facts are done; that the Witneſſes that teſtify them may be known to the Jurors; and Fraud is always ſuſpected, if Perſons unknown to the Neighbours of the Facts are produced to witneſs them, unleſs there be manifeſt Reaſon for their Knowledge of the Fact, better than thoſe that were near to the Place, and known to the Jurors. The Reaſon of our Law is of impregnable Force in the Caſe of this pretended Prince, that the Witneſſes of his Birth ſhould be Perſons publickly known; on whoſe Knowledge, Truth, and Credit, the whole Kingdom, and the Chriſtian World ſhould rely, in a Matter of ſuch vaſt Importance: Obſcure, unknown Perſons, never publickly heard of in this or any foreign Kingdom; and above all, obſcure Foreigners, *French* or *Italians*, or others, ought not to be deem'd competent Witneſſes to ſatisfy the Kingdom in that Fact. Indeed when Circum-

cumſtances are duly conſider'd, it will be evident that ſuch, and ſuch only was the pretended Teſtimony offered at that Time; which infallibly damns all their Pretences, in regard there was a whole Kingdom, beſides all the eminent foreign Miniſters from Princes and States, that might have been elected, that were publickly known and heard of by all People; and the Neceſſity of it was never ſo manifeſt, it being known to his Majeſty and his whole Court, that the Queen's being with Child was not believed, either in *England* or foreign Countries.

VI. Common Juſtice required that the Witneſſes had been fit and proper in reſpect of their high diſtinguiſhing Quality, or that they had been dignified with ſome of the higheſt Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, as Archbiſhops, or Biſhops; or had been, by Birth or Creation, of the Degree of the greateſt Nobility of the Kingdom, or that their extraordinary Wealth had rais'd their Reputation, and they had been honoured with the great and eminent Offices of Truſt in the Realm. For tho' our Laws are impartial to High or Low in hearing Teſtimonies of Witneſſes in every Caſe, and therefore duly conſider both the Circumſtances of every Fact to be proved, and of every Witneſs and his Capacity to prove it our) Laws indeed judge not Truth and Integrity to be annexed and intailed on Dignity, Nobility, or Greatneſs) yet they juſtly claim the Teſtimonies of Perſons in great Dignity in the Church, or of Noble Birth, and raiſed Knowledge and Fortunes, and independant of others, to be more free from Exception (which

(which that Caſe required) than thoſe that are of weak Underſtandings, without the Advantages of excellent Breeding and Inſtruction; or indigent, and bound to depend upon the Favour of others for their Support, like Nurſes and Midwives, and other Servants.

Therefore *(cæteris paribus)* the Capacity and Probability of knowing the Facts, and Indifferency of Witneſſes of high or low being equal, our Laws juſtly allow more Weight and Credit to the Teſtimony of dignified and noble Witneſſes, and ſuch are therefore required to prove the Fact of a Prince's Birth, whereupon depends the Right and Title to a Kingdom, to exclude the apparent Right of one, and to put another into Poſſeſſion of the ſame; becauſe our Laws preſume Perſons of ſuch high Degree to have greater Senſe and Regard to Conſcience more Generoſity and Contempt of Flaſhood, and more Tenderneſs of their Honour, than thoſe of low Condition; and upon that Preſumption, Noblemen's Affirmations, upon their Honour, are in many Caſes accepted in lieu of their Oaths, unto which all others are obliged it the ſame or the like Caſes; and for that Reaſon their Declarations of the Birth of a Prince, without their making Oath judicially, have been as certainly relied upon by the Kingdom, in the Deſcent of the Inheritance, without Diſpute, as if they had ſworn their Knowledge in the Forms of Juſtice. There are alſo other Regards for which our Laws put a greater Value upon the Teſtimony of Nobility of both

Sexes, about the Birth of a Prince, *viz.* they are moſt accuſtomed to the Preſence and Converſation of the King and Queen; and ſuch Ladies are juſtly preſumed to be free from too awful Diſtances common to thoſe of lower Rank, and to have more Confidence to approach the Queen in her Travail and bringing forth, as are neceſſary, that they may be ocular Witneſſes that they have ſeen the Child in its very Birth; and ſuch Nobles are free and bold to take ſuch a ſearching View of the Child in its firſt naked Naturals, as may make them knowing Witneſſes of its Birth, and abſoluetly certain they are not deluded with a ſuppoſititious Child. Such noble Witneſſes are known to have greater Obligations upon them than others, to prevent all poſſible Queſtions and Diſputes that may ariſe from Uncertainties about the Succeſſion to the Crown, which may divide and deſtroy the Kingdom; and their great Intereſts and Poſterities, their Conditions and Fortunes are ſuppoſed to be above Temptations by Bribes of Wealth or Honour, to connive at Falſhood, or to ſtoop to ſerve a counterfeit Prince.

Upon all theſe Conſiderations, the Witneſſes of the Birth of every *Engliſh* Prince ought to be of ſuch high and noble Quality; and it was then known to have been more neceſſary, that the Reaſon of our Law had been exactly obſerved in the Caſe of that ſuppoſed Prince, than ever was ſince the Foundation of the Kingdom; there never was ſuch Occaſion to have

have ſtop'd the Mouth of common Fame, or to have ſhown the juſtly jealous Subjects that there were ſuch fit and proper Witneſſes, that a Prince was then born of the Queen, as were unqueſtionable, without any poſſible Exception, whoſe Faithfulneſs and Truth might be relied ſecurely upon. Juſtice alſo required there had been competent, and ſufficient Numbers of thoſe fit and proper Witneſſes, that it could not have been ſuppoſed poſſible that any Fraud had been put upon them. But inſtead of ſuch fit and ſufficient Witneſſes of the Birth of this pretended Prince, you will find upon Examination, that there was none but ſuch as were, by the known Laws of this Realm, and all other Chriſtian Kingdoms and States, abſolutely render'd incompetent Witneſſes, even in a common Right of Inheritance.

1. Our Laws utterly diſable all thoſe to be heard in the Caſe that have received Gifts of Money or Honours, or any other Reward or Benefits. 'Tis the common Practice of our Law, that when a Witneſs is produced, the adverſe Party may examine him upon Oath whether he hath had Money, or other Reward, or Gift, directly or indirectly, for or by reaſon of the Matter in queſtion, or from the Party in whoſe Behalf he is produced to teſtify, or from any of his Friends or Agents. If he cannot acquit himſelf thereof by his Oath, tho' it cannot be proved againſt him, our impartial Law deems

deems ſuch a Perſon not only partial in the Caſe, but corrupted and bribed, and unworthy to be heard.

2. Our Laws will not admit thoſe to be Witneſſes for the Birth of that ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales*, that had any Promiſe, Expectation, or Hopes of Advancement, Office, Place, or Benefit by or under him. Or that had Dependance on his Patrons, and Maintainers, that were in Danger of Damage and Loſs by them of any kind.

3. Our good Laws will not admit as fit and proper Witneſſes thoſe that held Offices of Profit and Honour during the King's Will; our Laws have regard to human Infirmities, and will not put a Temptation upon Men to ſuffer themſelves to be Witneſſes in Matters, wherein they may damnify themſelves in the Loſs of Offices, if they happen to diſpleaſe their Maſter in his Concern in the Caſe, by teſtifying clearly the Truth of it; they are not free, in the Judgment of our Laws, to ſpeak the Truth without Fear, and for that Reaſon are not to be received by the Kingdom as Witneſſes in that Caſe.

4. Our Laws will never allow or ſuffer any to be Witneſſes in that Caſe, who were known to have Enmity or Prejudice of any Kind upon any Account whatſoever to her Royal Highneſs, againſt whom moſt immediately that ſuppoſed Prince contended; and it is a legal, unanſwerable and con-

concluſive Exception againſt any to have been received as Witneſſes againſt her in that Behalf, that they were declared Enemies to her and the Proteſtant Religion, the Deſtruction whereof they were bound in Conſcience to endeavour; and for that Reaſon ſuch known Enemies to her Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, that their Church had declared and decreed her Right, and the Right of all Proteſtants to any Authorities, to be abſolutely forfeited to the Papiſts for Proteſtant Hereſy; and all that were Roman Catholicks, and believed their own Church, did judge her Royal Highneſs to be an excommunicated Heretick by their Church; and that all her Rights in Poſſeſſion or Reverſion were thereby confiſcated: And that they were obliged by the Laws of their Church, in Conſcience of their Religion, and by the Hope of Pardon for their Sins, to defeat and deſtroy by all Ways and Means in their Power, all her Pretenſions to the Deſcent of the Crown upon her, and to aſſiſt to the inveſting the Right of Succeſſion in a Roman Catholick. 'Tis therefore manifeſt,

5. That the *Engliſh* Papiſts were declared Enemies to her Royal Highneſs's Right in that Caſe, between her and the pretended Prince of *Wales*; and therefore by the Laws of *England* could not be Witneſſes of that Fact. The Civil Law ſo fully concurs with our Common Law in rejecting Enemies to be Wit-

Witneſſes in the Cauſe of their Enmity, that it denies to give Credit to what they teſtify in the Cauſe of their Enemy with their dying Breath, after they have received the Euchariſt. That is the general Concluſion of the Doctors of the Civil Law, *Inimicus etiamſi in articulo mortis conſtitutus, & accepiſſet euchariſtiam, repellitur teſtimonio cauſæ ſui inimici.*

6. Our Laws will not allow that the Declaration or Teſtimony of his Majeſty King *James,* or her Majeſty, ſhould be accepted and believed as lawful Proof that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was born of the Queen. 'Tis ſufficient for us, that our Laws will not ſuffer our Kings to deſcend into the Place of Witneſſes; they will not admit them to notify their own Knowledge of the Facts in any Caſe whatſoever, Criminal or Civil. And there is abundant Reaſon alſo from natural Equity and Civil Juſtice, that the Kingdom ſhould not receive and rely upon the King's Affirmation about the Birth of that pretended Prince, their Majeſties having publickly eſpouſed his Cauſe for their own in all Reſpects. And none on Earth, Kings or Subjects, may juſtly expect, or be ſuffered to ſupply the Place of Witneſſes in their own Caſe, ſince Civil Government was eſtabliſhed; for if they might lawfully be their own Proof for their own Cauſe, they might as juſtly be the Judges of their own Proof, which in conſequence would turn up the Foun-

Foundations of Civil Government, one of its chiefeſt Intentions being to introduce a Courſe of Juſtice. That none might be their own Judges, the Laws of *England* in this Caſe are not diſſonant from the Laws of other Kingdoms, and the moſt abſolute Empires. The Civil Law receiv'd in moſt Chriſtian Kingdoms that were adapted to abſolute Government, had for one of its Principles, That *Principis verbum pro lege habendum eſt*, " the Word of " a Prince was to be taken for Law." We ſay, that Law never aſcribed abſolute Credit to the Prince's Affirmation of Matters of Fact, wherein the Subjects Rights were concerned. It paſſes for a Rule of Law in ſuch Caſes, that *Princeps indiſtincte non creditur*. The Emperor is not to be believed entirely without Limitations and Reſtrictions, in affirming Matters of Fact relating to his Subjects real Intereſts and Securities. The learned Doctors of that Law determine, that the Emperor's Affirmation that a Subject hath committed Treaſon, or Rebellion againſt him, ought not to be believed, or taken for Proof: They ſay expreſly, *Regi fides non adhibitur, ſi atteſtatur talem fuiſſe proditorem.* Likewiſe, if he pretends and declares a Cauſe why he deprives a Subject, or Feudatory of his Intereſt, he is not to be believed; there muſt be Proof, and the Parties intended to be prejudiced muſt be cited and heard in their Defence. They generally reſolve, that when a King aſſerts, or atteſts any thing to the

the Prejudice of another, he is not then to be believed, especially when his Affirmation of himself is for his own Advantage, and to the Subjects Damage or Inconvenience. These are the Words, *Quando ex assertione Principis, ipse principaliter sentiret commodum, & subditi incommodum, tum ipsi Principi non creditur.* The Example of the Emperor *Henry* VI. of *Germany*, had a due Sense of the Justice and Reason of the Law herein, about the Year 1200; he did not expect that the People should believe the Affirmations of himself and his Empress *Constantia* about the Birth of a Prince, when there was a Rumour and Suspicion that *Constantia* was past the Age of Child-bearing, and feigned a great Belly; he gave the People plentiful Proof by Witnesses, more than Reason required: He prepared a most publick Place, wherein she remained expecting her Time of Delivery *ventre custodit*, with publick Watchers, or Keepers, that no suppositious Child might possibly approach her; and there in the Sight of all People of the City, and all the Matrons that would or could possibly approach her (none being excluded) she brought forth a Prince, that was afterward chosen Emperor, *Frederick* II.

Thus I have fairly and truly produced such Witnesses as were, and such as were not admitted to prove the pretended Birth of a Child of *James* II. by his Queen, on *Sunday* Morning between the Hours of Nine and

and Ten, *June* 10th, 1688. But as there were other natural, infallible Proofs to be obſerved by ſkilful Perſons then preſent after this ſuppoſed Birth, I ſhall, for further Satisfaction, produce the Proofs that ſhould have been, but never were known to any Body.

1. There never was in Readineſs not ſo much as the uſual Inſtruments of Midwives, whereupon they commonly place Ladies of Quality in their Time of Travail, that ſuch Aſſiſtance might be given them by the Midwives and Matrons, as is not poſſible on their Knees, which is the common Poſture of meaner Women; and leaſt of all as they lay in Bed, which is ſeldom uſed, until the Length of the Travail, and Failures of Strength enforce it. There being many natural Reaſons for the Poſture of the Womens Bodies helping them in their Travail.

2. It had certainly been fit that a College of Phyſicians had been called to attend ſomewhere near to her Majeſty, if ſhe had not known there could be no need of 'em; and the being ſure there could be no Hour of Danger to her in her feigned Travail, nor any ſudden Need of Phyſicians Advice, or Help, to a ſtrong, lively, ſuppoſed Prince, that was intended then to be brought forth. But as all the Preparations for her Majeſty's ſuppoſed Time of Travail diſcover'd, to knowing and obſerving People, that there was no Reality in her Pretences made of a great Belly, ſo the Fiction and Fraud was made more manifeſt

nifeſt when the Trick came to be acted: For her Majeſty lay in her Bed with all the Curtains cloſe drawn, all that was provided belonging naturally to a Child new born, and intended to be uſed by them in the bringing forth that pretended Prince, being prepared and ready within the inner Chamber; then her Majeſty's feigned Travail began, and all thoſe Things were by the Help of the Midwife, Mrs *Labady*, and Mrs *Tourain*, the Confederates, brought thro' the Door in the Wall at the Head of the Queen's Bed, and conveyed between the Sheets; that is, a Child, and all that naturally attends the Birth of one; that the Midwife and the Confederates ſeem'd very buſy about her Majeſty in the dark, none ſeeing, as they thought, what they did, and being afraid, as appear'd by the Midwife's Words afterwards, that the Child, which was prepared to ſleep to prevent its crying before it was got into Bed; they were forced to haſten the Queen's pretended Delivery, even beyond what was reaſonable to believe, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid of the Lady of *Loretto*, or any other Saint's Aſſiſtance. Therefore the Queen's ſuppoſed Deliverance was in a very ſhort Time.

But nothing appear'd in her Majeſty like the real, natural Travail of a Woman in Child-bearing; there were none of the natural Signs in her Majeſty of being in Travail, which cannot be hidden; there was no Appearance of an approaching Travail by va-

rious

rious intermitting Pangs, usually very great, by the Infant's struggling to free itself from the Womb; no Show of the Pains naturally increasing, as more of the Ligatures came to be broken or rent, whereby every Infant is safely retained in the Womb, until its full Growth and appointed Time; there were no Signs of her Majesty's known Weakness in bearing such Pangs in her State of Body, debilitated with long, lingering Infirmities; there were no Signs of a violent Eruption of an untimely Birth from the Womb of eight Months and four Days, as her Majesty then reported it to have been.

All that was feigned was suddenly dispatched, and the Midwife delivered something close covered to Mrs *Labady*, which could be nothing but the Child that had been put in, and went with it together thro' the Door in the Ruel of the Bed into the next Room, in so great Haste, that it was not considered how plainly it did discover that it was a mere feigned counterfeit Fraud of the Queen's. Durst the Midwife quit her attending and assisting her Majesty in those Moments, when there was the greatest Necessity of her Skill and Office, and the most extreme Danger of her Majesty's Life by any Neglect of her, if she had really brought forth a Child, as they were obliged to pretend?

Instead of a fair, open Freedom in showing that the Queen was really delivered of a Prince, which our Customs and Laws, and

natural

natural Equity required, that all thoſe Works of Nature might have been ſeen, and teſtified by noble Matrons; the pretended Birth of a Prince, and all that they did about it, was done in the dark, with theCurtains cloſe drawn round about the Bed, and under the Coverings of it, and none of either Sex permitted to ſee any Thing done about her Majeſty, or her ſuppoſed Child, ſave only the Confederates: No others of thoſe in the Bed-Chamber, that drew as near as they might, were ſuffered to ſee what was taken out of the Bed; being ſomething wholly covered, and immediately carried away by the private Door.

All hearkened after the common and moſt conſtant natural Sign of the Birth of a living Child, that is, its crying; but divers Lords of the Council and others that were in the Bed-chamber, declared, that the crying of a Child was heard by none then preſent, when the Pretence was that a Child was born, nor would the Midwife at firſt ſay it was a Prince.

I have related no Circumſtance, but what was moſt notoriouſly known, or could have been judicially proved before any impartial Court of Judicature, of what was acted about the pretended Prince in the Room from whence he was brought, and to which he was carried, before the Lords of the Council or any others were told that there was a Prince born. But it was certain to thoſe then preſent, that during the whole fictitious Travail

vail of the Queen, and a conſiderable Time after it, his Majeſty kept thoſe Lords of the Council that were called, not far from the Feet of the Bed that was cloſe ſhut up, and they neither ſaw nor heard any Thing about the Birth of the ſuppoſed Prince, whereof they could be lawful Witneſſes to the Kingdom. Yet the Actors of that whole Impoſture had the Confidence to publiſh forthwith to the Kingdom by Authority, that thoſe and many other Lords, and many Ladies of Quality, were preſent at the Queen's Delivery of that Prince; equivocating therein, like true Jeſuits, and falſely inſinuating to the People, that thoſe Lords, and many Matrons of the Nobility had been ſuch ocular Witneſſes as our Laws require, of the Queen's being delivered of a Prince; whereas, in Truth, all that were not of the Confederacy waited to no more Purpoſe, than if they had been ten Miles off the Queen's Bed-chamber.

After long waiting, his Majeſty left them, and returned into the inner Room, where was Mrs *Labady*, and the Confidents, with the ſuppoſed Prince; and it was ſoon after ſaid to the Lords, that a Prince being born, there was no more Need of them; whereupon ſeveral of them went away, and whatſoever was done in ſhewing the Child to thoſe that ſtaid, was not worthy to be repeated, as it could be of no Manner of Uſe to the Kingdom.

But

But the moſt careful Enquiry was made, after the Queen's ſuppoſed Delivery, whether there were any natural, demonſtrable Signs in her Majeſty that ſhe had born a Child that had broke its Way by violence into the World before Nature's Time, as ſhe had affirmed; the uſual and neceſſary Conſequences of ſuch Force upon Nature in Women of ſuch Tenderneſs and Weakneſs as her Majeſty, made every one expect to hear of her great Weakneſs, and Danger of her Life by a Fever, that commonly attends ſuch untimely Births. Enquiry was made after the Danger of her Majeſty's Breaſts, by the uſual Redundancy of Milk, becauſe one had reported ſo long before that ſhe had great Plenty of it in her Breaſts. Proper Perſons were imployed to learn what Woman had the Honour to draw her Majeſty's Breaſts, or whether any Applications had been made to repel or dry the Milk: And alſo to aſk after the good Progreſs of her Majeſty in the natural Cleanſings that follow Child-bearing, and of her Strength in bearing thoſe unavoidable Conſequences, whereby all Women of her Majeſty's Tenderneſs and Weakneſs are greatly debilitated.

But after the moſt diligent Enquiry, there never was any Appearance of any one natural and unavoidable Effect of Child-bearing; and conſequently her Majeſty did never conceive, nor bring forth that pretended Prince of *Wales*.

I have now given a faithful Abſtract of many of the Circumſtances which were collected in the Affair of that imaginary Prince, and will venture to affirm, that you cannot obſerve, from the Beginning to the End of 'em, one Footſtep of ſincere Plainneſs. All that was done therein, from the Time of the Queen's pretended Conception, to her ſuppoſed Delivery, ſhow'd Deſires and Intentions to hide the Truth of thoſe natural Events, which, by the Laws of *England*, by natural Juſtice, and by their own Honour and Intereſt, they were obliged to have made moſt demonſtrable and proveable, by ſufficient Witneſſes, to all the Kingdom, if there had been any Truth in their Pretences.

Be pleas'd to remember, as 'tis before obſerved, that the going to *Bath*, and the Viſit to St *Winifred*'s *Well*, and the Preſent made to the Lady, were Preparatives for a Report of the Queen's being with Child, and were all concluded upon about the End of *Auguſt*, and Beginning of *September*, 1687; and then it was their Highneſſes, the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*'s Compliance with the Popiſh Deſign was deſpaired of.

The Abſtract of Mr *Steward*'s Letters to Mynheer *Fagel*, which were then printed, confirm theſe Memorials in that Matter. He was pardoned, and choſen by the King to perſuade their Highneſſes to a Conſent, that the penal Laws and Teſts ſhould be repealed, which would have been a full Eſtabliſhment of

of Popery. In his first two Letters he endeavoured to persuade their Highnesses, that the King was resolved to preserve and observe the true Right of Succession to the Crown, and was very desirous of their Highnesses Consent and Concurrence in his Design, and troubled to find them so averse to it. In his next Letter of the same *July*, he pressed their Highnesses to be disposed to hearken to a well-chosen Informer to be sent by his Majesty to persuade their Concurrence with him; and he pressed extremely for a hasty Answer.

The new Counsels for setting up a supposititious Prince seem to have been begun then; for that Letter seem'd to threaten what afterwards really happen'd, if their Highnesses refused, for he doubled his Assurance to him that was to sollicit their Highnesses, that if they were obstinate, as it was called, it would be fatal to the Dissenters, and, he fear'd, productive of Ills then unheard of. And his Letter of *August* the 5th, seem'd to give their Highnesses their last Time to chuse the Settlement of Popery, or to resolve to be true to the Protestant Religion. He said, if their Highnesses did what the King desired, it was the best Service to the Protestants, the highest Obligation to his Majesty, and the greatest Advancement of their Interest, that they could think on; but, if not, then all is contrary. There could be no other Meaning in saying, *If their Highnesses refused, all was contrary*, save only this, that the Protestants should have

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no Mercy from the Papiſts; his Majeſty would be ſo offended, that he would become their Highneſſes Enemy, and it would be the Loſs of their Highneſſes greateſt Intereſt that they could think on, which certainly could be no other than their juſt Expectancy of the three Kingdoms.

As theſe Letters threatened that the King would deſtroy their Highneſſes greateſt Intereſt if they refuſed, ſo the Attempt of it ſoon after appeared; for in *September* and *October* following the Reſolutions were to publiſh the Queen was with Child, but before it was publickly declared, that was *October* the eighth. Mr. *Steward* ſays, he would uſe no more Arguments to their Highneſſes, but he then reſented their Highneſſes loſs of the Time of Compliance: Alas, ſaid he, that Providence ſhould not be underſtood! Then in *November* he ſpeaks more plainly, notwithſtanding their Highneſſes Moderation towards the Papiſts, and their Liberty was ſhewn by Mynheer *Fagel*'s Letter; he ſays, that all Hopes of their Highneſſes Concurrence in the King's Deſign was quite over, and Men were become as cold in it there, as their Highneſſes were poſitive here. And upon the new Conference with the King, he not only ſhows the King's Diſlike of that Letter, but ſays expreſly, that their Highneſſes Anſwer was too long delayed, and that the King was quite over the Matter.

There could be no other reaſonable Conſtruction of that, than that the King had then reſolved

by another way to profecute the Popiſh Intereſt; and Time hath now ſhown and proved to the World, that the Way then reſolved on was to ſet up that ſuppoſititious Prince, for a Popiſh Succeſſor.

Thoſe Letters, by the help of Time, ſhow the Deſign when it was firſt in Embryo, and help to make a Judgment upon all the Circumſtances that I have mentioned. And no doubt if an Evidence made up of all the Circumſtances I have related, in their due Order and Connexion, were given to any impartial Judges, it would be judged as ſtrong a preſumptive Evidence as ever was given: And in the Proceeding of our Laws againſt Criminals, Judgment hath paſſed againſt the Lives of many upon far leſs Evidence.

But notwithſtanding this plain circumſtantial Evidence is ſufficiently forcible and convincing to diſintereſted Perſons, to prove that ſuppoſed Prince to be an Impoſture, yet the length of Time ſince that horrid Juggle is ſo great, that very few are now alive that were then of Age ſufficient to make a due Obſervation of thoſe Times; and the falſe Tradition of that Birth hath been ſo induſtriouſly continued and propagated by all true Catholics, that many, otherwiſe very good Subjects of this Realm, have by their Artifices been deluded into a real Belief, that ſuch a Prince was truly Born, and then was entitled to the Crown. Nor have I any other Hopes of inducing them to alter their preſent ill-grounded Faith, but by deſiring them carefully

fully to examine the Records, and Hiſtories of *England* from the Reign of K. *James* I. together with thoſe private Memoirs (which are to be met with in the Studies of the Curious) relating to that grand Popiſh Scheme, and impartially compare them with what I have in theſe Sheets offered towards the removing their dangerous Errors; for ſure I am, if they will but lay aſide their Prejudices long enough to conſider coolly of the Matter of Fact, they will be convinced they cannot, as Chriſtians, any longer believe ſo palpable a Falſhood.

My chief Motive for making this publick, is to ſhow thoſe of my Fellow Subjects, of whatſoever Denomination they call themſelves, that if they will but do themſelves and their Country the Juſtice to examine carefully into the Hiſtories of thoſe paſt Times, they may be, at an eaſy Rate, ſelf-convinced they have hitherto been impoſed upon in a Matter of the greateſt Conſequence to both. And I think it a Duty incumbent upon me, as a Chriſtian, a Proteſtant, and an unworthy Subject of *England*, to offer this my poor, but true and honeſt Endeavours towards convincing all that have Regard to Truth, of the great and continued Misfortunes that have and muſt attend that firſt damnable Deſign of eſtabliſhing a Popiſh Succeſſor to the Crown of this Realm; which will continue to be ſupported by all Papiſts by the ſame Arts and Devices, and with the ſame or like Policies, ſo long as they can find any ſufficient Numbers in *England*, either

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ignorant or credulous enough to be deceived by them; and that they may be ſure of gaining ſome, they have ever ſince, and ever will while our Laws permit them, take Care to have a ſufficient Number of Roman Catholicks diſperſed in different Parts and Occupations all over *England*; ſome of large Properties, others of large Trade, and many others of great Capacity to perſuade, but all unanimouſly agreed to deceive and delude the Proteſtants in their Faith of all Sorts. But hitherto, by the Bleſſing of God upon this Nation, they have not prevailed further than at certain Times to create Jealouſies and little Diſturbances: And notwithſtanding all their threatning and boaſting of their foreign Power, they have not prevailed beyond giving our Governors and Magiſtrates the Trouble of looking into their Deſigns, which they never can effect in any Degree, while *Engliſhmen* and Proteſtants look about them, and are determined to ſtand ſtoutly by one another. 'Tis not an Invaſion from Abroad can ever hurt *England*, it muſt be their Diſſenſions and Diviſions at home alone that can hurt the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, which the Popiſh Emiſſaries are ever ſtudious to foment. And ſure no *Briton* that will give himſelf the Liberty to think, but will do his utmoſt to prevent what alone can injure the Liberty and Properties of his Fellow Subjects; ſurely no *Engliſhman* or Proteſtant will henceforth purſue ſuch Meaſures as, herein made apparent, paved the Way for that horrid intended

tended Revolution; but with Heart and Hand endeavour to ſupport that Great Prince now happily upon the Throne of his Anceſtors, who ſo bravely ſtruggled to ſupport it againſt thoſe mighty Powers, that attempted heretofore to ſet it on a Head of their own making.

Would but *Engliſh* Proteſtants duly reflect on the Bleſſings they now enjoy under His Majeſty's mild and gentle Government, and compare their State with the Subjects of all the Catholick Princes, but more particularly their Neighbour Nation under the Tyranny of a *French* King, they could not forbear crying out, *Surely no Nation is ſo happy as ours!*

If they would but ſeriouſly reflect on the Intrigues of paſt Times, when any Prince of this Land inclined towards the Popiſh Syſtem, how happy would they conclude themſelves to be in the preſent Times! So happy indeed are we in *England*, that no other Nation can truly boaſt the like; and that is one principal Reaſon why our great near Neighbour, the *French* King, is, and will be continually plotting and contriving the Diſturbance of that Government his Subjects ſee in every Reſpect ſo much better than their own; for could he pervert the Subjects of *England*, which he continues to endeavour by all ſecret Contrivances, to join at any Time with ſuch Forces as he can only in ſuch a Circumſtance ſend into this Iſland, and by thoſe Means ſubdue this Nation to his Will, we ſhould ſoon ſee all *Europe* as great Slaves as his own Subjects now are.

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Consider then what you owe to his present Majesty for his constant and unwearied Endeavours, not only to secure to you the present Enjoyment of all that is dear to you, but for giving you so glorious a Prospect of a long Succession of truly Protestant Princes in his Royal Issue; and let every *British* Subject, from the highest to the lowest, return his Gratitude to his great Benefactor, by encouraging one the other most zealously to detect and discover *all secret Contrivances against the private and publick Peace* of these Realms; and by a bold, resolute, and steady Unanimity, to oppose with our utmost Might, at the Hazard of our Lives and Fortunes, all open Attempts that at any Time may be made, or pretended to be made against the Peace of His most gracious Majesty; and by our steady Concurrence on all such Occasions, convince the whole Christian World, that *GEORGE* the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, reigns more absolutely in the Hearts of his Subjects, than any *French* or Popish Tyrant can do over the Purses of his Slaves. AMEN.

F I N I S.